

835 /35 cont. / occur at the courts of princes without being further discussed in public, even though they led to pregnancy.

684 In the same manner the court of justice handled a case
835 of a man's relations with his stepdaughter, and that of a man
593 with his stepgranddaughter. The court of justice declared
608 that although no blood relationship existed between the accused,
these two young women were nevertheless regarded as daughter
and granddaughter respectively, because they had lived with
their stepfather and stepgrandfather from childhood on and had
been reared by them. Here there exists a certain doubt,
therefore, whether the case can be regarded as salimara.¹
608 Cases of sexual relation between a woman and her stepson
835 were not registered. This does not mean that these do not
occur. At the most it may mean that these cases occur less
frequently than those in which the man belongs to the higher
generation (1).

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1. The idea exists that when a widower remarries, his second wife treats her stepchildren with less kindness than her own. No heart-rending examples of this could be noted, however. In one case the hostile attitude originated with the two girls who suspected their stepmother of having killed their own mother by means of a formula (pangassengang), in order to be able to marry their father.

[54]

The relationship of a man with his stepson is a tense one. Quarrels occur that lead to physical violence and fights such as are unknown between a man and his own son.

• [578]

¹[i.e. incest. - Aug 75]

587 /35 cont./ In several cases a man married the younger
835 sister of his deceased wife. One likes to see sisters "succeed-
ing each other on the pillow" because it is believed that the
children from the first marriage will be better taken care of by
someone who already knows them well than by a stranger,
and also because by such a marriage existing ties in the family
are continued. At the same time, several cases were
[637] registered in which a man made his wife's sister pregnant.

Such a relationship generally is not regarded as salimara'.
/36/ It does, however, cause a great deal of commotion be-
cause, according to the decrees of Moslem law, a man may
not be married to two sisters at one and the same time. In
such a case the man must first oust his wife, therefore, and
only after the iddat period has elapsed, may he marry her
sister. During the entire period, he, like the pregnant woman,
is tumannjala (1) with respect to her brothers and other male

1. See Chapter III,
third part.

relatives.

- [578] It is said that this man has made two women unhappy at
once. Reconciliation takes place less readily, and the
commotion is greater than in the case of an "ordinary"
[684] marriage by flight. In a verdict handed down by the Sawitto
Native Court, a couple was sentenced for salimara' in such a
case. In his opinion on this verdict, Dr. A. A. Cense called
this interpretation incorrect. He thought that only after the
decrees of Moslem law became known did the notion arise
that this relationship should also be regarded as salimara'.
I cannot declare myself in entire agreement with him on this
point. The interpretation does show, however, that, just as
in the cases of sexual contact between a man and his step-
daughter, here, too, a doubt exists as to whether or not this

158 /56 cont./ According to reports, adults are also subject
626 to such attacks, however, I never witnessed this. To be sure,
an adult sometimes uses it as a threat, for instance, when he
(she) has set his (her) mind on something that seems unattain-
able. A woman from Macassar who had caused a drum
(ganrang) to be played at a festival of her kin group in Goa
was questioned about this by the kapalakampong /kampong
[533 head/ concerned, since playing the ganrang is a prerogative
565] of the nobility in Goa. She threatened with adjallo' if the use
of the drum should be forbidden her, and finally a decision
was made that the drum could be played because she did not
live in Goa and at home in Macassar she was allowed to play
the ganrang.

In Macassar a girl who was sixteen years old and still at
school threatened adjallo' because she wanted to continue attend-
ing school in spite of obvious disapproval on the part of her
mother and aunts. A man arranged his second marriage behind
the back of his first wife because, as he said, he was afraid
that she would adjallo' and in so doing might well prevent his
second marriage if she heard about it beforehand.

The reaction of others to such fits of temper was one of
aversion. People turned away; no one made an attempt to
help, nor did anyone appear angry. It was believed that
nothing could be done about it.

159 Both phenomena, mobility and adjallo', in my opinion
578 should be regarded as expressions of a conflict for which the
individual sees no other solution, a conflict which is based on
personality structure. It was impossible for me to do any further
investigation along these lines. The fact that both sexes
participate in mobility to the same extent might suggest the
/57/ necessity for an analysis of the "basic personality structure"
/cited in English/ (1) of the Makassarese.

1. For this term see A. Kardiner,
most recently in The Psychological
Frontiers of Society, New York, 1945.

554 /92 cont./ leeway which opens up the opportunity for indicating
 583 nuances, so important to the Makassarese. Even among kins-
 602 men differences of /social/ level exist. "Manna samposikali
kapattauanga sisala" ("even though they are first cousins, their
 status is different"), is said of the children of a pair of brothers
 who married women of different status, or of the children of a
 pair of half-brothers who had the same father but mothers of
 different blood. In such cases conflict cannot be avoided.

554 When a son of the lower of the two women made a request on
 581 behalf of his son to his half-brother, regarding the latter's
 584 daughter, he was refused. The girl's mother gave as the reason
 ● 578 the fact that she had nursed her aspirant son-in-law. Con-
 602 sidering the existing kin relationship, this may very well be
 possible, but it did not prevent the other party from being
 angry because the real reasons for the refusal were very well
 understood.

554 Descent and personal qualities within the /93/ group of
 578 relatives lead to an endogamy of the prominent members of
 602 this group. Within the circle of kinsmen, the marriage
 candidates are therefore also limited. This fact is not admitted
 to others; instead the emphasis is then just placed upon the large
 number of kinsmen and upon their -- in principle -- mutual
 equality. The striving to rise, which entails a certain striving
 for exclusiveness, is not readily mentioned. The other kins-
 men who in their striving to rise apparently remained behind
 accuse the individual who assumes airs of exclusiveness that he
 no longer wants to recognize his kin group, and everybody gives
 way to this. One of the things which the kinsmen of a woman
 who marries a higher man appreciate most in her is that she
 continues to visit and receive her kinsmen without showing
 superiority.

582 A certain secrecy is always maintained concerning marriage
 583 possibilities. In investigating the amount of the sunrang,
 557 information is given only hesitantly (1). These two experiences
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545 /169 cont./ latter, after a certain period of time had elapsed,
[586] asked for a divorce on the grounds that she was no longer being supported by him. In another case, the second wife escaped with another man (1). But sometimes the man

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1. Officially this is called adultery, and the man should behave as though he were siri'. In reality he agreed to the divorce nor did he make an attempt at stabbing; nor do his relatives expect him to take the initiative which might lead to her being sentenced by the judge for adultery.

chooses the second /wife/.

545 In the majority of cases, however, the first wife accepts
● 578 the new state of affairs. But her relationship with her rival remains notoriously bad. Abuse, hateful remarks about the stupidity, the low blood, or about certain physical characteristics of the other woman, are common expressions of her feelings. These she airs more to her female housemates, however, than to her spouse. Older women teach her that the latter is inadvisable. In one of the old lontar of the Prince of Goa there occurs the following rule which aptly characterizes the conditions /170/: "This is the rule concerning murder.

[682] If we murder our co-wife, no matter where, and if we tell this
672a] to the people who come running to the scene, saying, 'I have killed my co-wife, ' then there will be no revenge taken upon us. " (1)

1. This translation was saved as part of the prewar manuscript. The lontar from

595 /170 cont./

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which this rule was taken
could not be traced down,
just as it was not possible
to find the Makassarese
text.

595 The two wives each has her own house. In 24 of the 27 polygamous marriages, the two houses were even in different kampongs. If it is said of a man that he owns two houses, this means that he has two wives. The wives live each in her own house together with their children and a single kinsman, leading their own lives. They never see each other. They are thought to ignore each other. When they go to pay visits, kinsmen take care that the one does not come where the other is. At festivals the second wife always yields to the first, but in actuality she always gets just as much of a chance to be present, even though it is just for a short period of time. In practice, the two women know everything about each other that can be regarded of any interest at all.

[521] Female "friends" tell the news, especially the bad news, that each wife wants to hear about the other. In the course of many years the sharpest edges are often worn off this relationship. The children of the one go to the house of the other with their father. An instance where the two women at a greater age visited each other from time to time remains an exception, however.

It is expected that the husband takes his first wife's feelings into consideration and that he will do nothing that could remind her of her rival. An old example is that a man must put away the contents of his betel box before he comes to the other wife, because filling this box is, all the way up to the highest social circles, a special task that a woman performs for her husband, so that a woman, upon seeing the fresh betel leaves, is immediately reminded of the other woman (2).

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554 /211 cont./

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Indonesian word malu.

An attempt at definition will be made below. For the sake of clarity, however, I have left the term untranslated in a number of cases.

impaired and when another person knows this.

A man is inclined to regard immediately as outdoing any accidental event at an encounter, or a lucky word on his part, by which he raises himself above the other person, at least in his own eyes. The other, when he hears this, is also siri'.

The reaction may consist of a counterchallenge, a returned insult, by which the original challenger in his turn becomes siri'. It is never possible to determine precisely who "began." The mutual opposition is sometimes explained by an event from the past that is regarded as of great importance, for instance, a murder. But with that the question concerning the origin of the mutual opposition is merely put off.

[578] There exists the possibility that the outdone person will respond by stabbing. The consequence of outdoing can therefore never be foreseen. It remains charged with real danger. Many stabbing brawls in South Celebes are proof of that.

554 /212/ One of the most spectacular challenges is the theft
571 of cattle, horses, or buffalo. Its purpose is, in the first instance,
685 to show one's courage (kaporeanna); only in a few cases are economic motives at the bottom of this. Sometimes a warning is uttered beforehand: "I am coming" (that is to say, "to steal your buffalo"). Stealing cattle is done to find a reason for a brawl. A successful buffalo theft is considered a triumph and at the same time a challenge. A cattle theft at the expense of the prince is therefore a great insult.

588 /219 cont./ Along with the request for consent, the wali is frequently asked whether he wants to receive the sunrang. And his answer that he does not wish to receive the sunrang must be interpreted in the same way as his statement respecting the consent he is asked for: he desires to deny every tie with the woman who has made him siri'. She should be dead; for him she does not exist. At the nikka' the wife therefore receives the sunrang herself. Later, at the reconciliation, the sunrang is then offered to her kinsmen after it has been freshly prepared. Thereby one maintains the fiction that only then does the ordinary marriage take place.

[583] Independent of all rank and status, the amount of the sunrang at the marriage of a woman who has fled is always 20 reals (1).

[83]

1. Of the total number of marriages (107) contracted over a period of time of one year (from January 7, 1948 to January 7, 1949) in Borongloe, there were 19 silariang marriages, or around 18 per cent. This percentage seems to be normal for Goa. In 1947, 1492 marriages were registered in the entire province of around 200, 000 residents. Of these, 283 were silariang marriages. According to reports, the percentage of silariang marriages is much higher in other districts, such as Djeneponto.

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155 /240 cont./ #1. For the ideas followed
867 here, see A. Kardiner,
The Individual and His
Society, fourth edition,
New York, 1947, pp. 21 ff.

554 Among the men of between fifteen and thirty-five years
571 of age, one finds constant striving to outdo another.
●578 Each contemporary of the same or of almost the same
descent is a potential opponent for them in their striving to
rise. However, a two-fold brake affects the realization of
this striving.

In the first place, the social forms with respect to mem-
bers of the same /nuclear/ family toward a higher and toward
an older person are highly formalized. As soon as the re-
straints here applied are removed, a strong aggression finds
expression. Men who drink at a feast avoid the higher people
who are present there. When the young adat community
head came to my house one evening drunk, he spoke in an
angry tone about nothing but the failings of his father and the
obstacles that the latter was always putting in his way.

The stiff relationship to the older male housemates brings
with it the fact that the young men prefer to wander around
outside.

521 In the second place, there are restrictions with regard
554 to the /241/ institutions in which the striving to outdo another
576 finds expression. Boasting about the splendor of a festival
in one's group of relatives is done as a matter of course, but
[685] a man may not brag about his possessions, his sawahs, cattle,
and valuables. He must be modestly silent about them. The
theft of cattle is a frequent phenomenon; it is a form of out-
doing another. But the theft of other goods practically does
not occur. If it does, it is regarded as a despicable deed.

554 Each act of outdoing, large or small, imagined or real,
571 has as a consequence that the other feels his social standing

we went to de Graaff's house for a conference. He called in the information man who was also in noble dress. He was old and lean and impressive. His name is Sulewatang Udjung. There were a few others including his son, Andi Pabara. They decided that the best kampong would be near Pampanua, but I said that that would be too far so they then decided on one on the border of Watampone, Bukaka. Andi was chosen as an assistant. There was much talk and the controleurs came in, Kolllewijn and Thierens, both fine men and the Buginese should be glad they have them.

I made long speeches in Dutch and Malay (how silly of me to have thought that I could use English here!) regarding the need in the United States of knowing more about Bone, United States customs, my project, and so forth. Everyone seemed well impressed. The Dutch acted very fine and spent all morning helping me. After much encouraging talk we went to the Arumpone the biggest "medicine" in South Celebes. He lives in a not too impressive house. There is no palace here. The Sulewatang said later that he formerly had the present house of the Assistant Resident. And that house was also not up to Standard Oil standards. The Arumpone's house has an equally large pavilion separated into two parts, in one of which sits the great aradjang and in the other the guests. The Arumpone talked quite a bit of American journalists, especially those who had visited Bone before dying in a plane crash in India. He showed me a photograph of himself taken with them. The Assistant Resident said later that the Arumpone said he was impressed by my speaking in Indonesian and had been critical of the journalists who come here and do "research" without any language facility. The Arumpone is a dignified fellow about fifty, wearing a uniform which looks somewhat like a general's, and a fine yellow songkok. He had two gold pens. He said he was going to Buton tomorrow, and seemed very proud. He said I must come again and take a photograph (that camera!). He is reputed to be a conservative. Also, he is not up to the blood of the deposed and exiled-to-Rantepao former arum. Later Thierens said to me that the Arumpone here lived in fear of intrigue, and that when one of the Aru Pitu [the seven princes of Bone] was around, he shuts up. Thierens also said that this was not too different from the intrigue against the arumpone in Bontorio. The present Arumpone is the head of the Hadat tinggi (House of Lords with veto power) in Makassar. This Hadat tinggi is for all of South Celebes (Sulawesi Selatan). The second man in the Hadat tinggi is the Goa radja. I met the Tomarilalang, the

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the others did not. They said that relatively few, except school children (they are always mentioned as exceptions) could draw a map of Celebes, Indonesia, and the world. But some of them have seen maps in the schools.

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As for the population of Indonesia, the Kepala kampung could tell me nothing, but Andi and the teacher knew something about this. This was also true with most of the others, except for a few school children; that is, they do not know even approximate figures for Indonesia at large. As for the population of the world no one had any ideas. However, Andi knew that China was largest, and India next largest. They were impressed that Indonesia is the seventh largest country in population in the world. Later I found out that the Sulewatang has quite an extensive knowledge of international relations and of the world. And Andi knew the capitols of Ireland, Finland and other countries. As for local patriotism, Andi said there was no real pride in Bone. They are not sombong [arrogant, conceited, presumptuous], but have hormat [honor, respect, distinction]. And adat is everything. I asked about the big speeches of loyalty formerly made by chiefs going to war. I also asked, in this connection, about the jumping and kris waving. Andi said that this was just adat. He keeps on saying that there is nothing here except adat and that the people are backward. He seems disgusted at times. He said they simply do not progress, and seems to doubt that they ever will. As for relations with other villages and neighborhoods or areas, there is exceedingly little. Formerly something along this line could be said about friendly or warlike relationships with Wadjo, Goa, and so forth. Nothing, however, is left of this. As for war, they can not carry on their former practices because the Dutch took their weapons.

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Bukaka, September 8, 1949. Second day: The people here know very little even about local historical events. This reminds me of Abdul Radjab, the Minangkabau, who is gathering local tales in Makale for Balai Pustaka. He was here once and said that he thought that he could get plenty of material in Wadjo, but after long talks with the important people who said it would be all right, he did not succeed in getting even one story. In the Toradja country, he got plenty, and even in Paloppo (but it is a part of Toradja). It is his idea, that the Buginese are helpless and hopeless. He said that a psychologist should study them. They are so bound up with fear and backwardness that there seems to be nothing here. He later took a bus for Tanette but it stopped at Balannipa which is twenty-five kilometers short. The driver said "all out", even though he and the others objected. However, the driver

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and the five days circulate around them. Then, another circle runs east into the Tanette Riatang wanua, where there are four markets in different kampongs. That circle gears in with the big market at Watumpone too. 443 366

I asked whether the range of distance from which the people come to market has increased with the use of buses. They said that it probably had. They also mentioned bicycles as another easing factor in getting to the market place. 489 493

As for education, much discussion resulted. Andi in particular seemed to be critical of the educational possibilities here. He said they would like to progress, but were unable to. They have only lower, and I think, middle schools in Watumpone. However, they are building another school now. Up to this month schools have been free, and the children have thronged to classes. But Andi said that now they expected a sharp drop. He said that if they charged even five cents a month it would be too much for many. (Later Thierens said that he doubted this and also that there was so little money in the kampung. He added that they could get jobs as coolies as there was a big demand for this type of labor. For example, they could work on roads at f.50 a month. The point seems to be, however, that they do not want to. He has a dim view of their energy, and perhaps he is right.) No one in the kampung has attended the University. Some have gone to middle school and many have attended lower school. Quite a few (?), relatively speaking, have gone to Makassar, and they must do so if they wish to get further education, for example, by going to normal school (except for the teachers school for the villages in Watumpone). Evidently, few, if any, go outside of Indonesia for education. There are Mohammedan schools in the village. I asked about their support. They said that the arus gave money from their own funds, and also got some contributions. They received no money from the Bone treasury. At this point they became irritated, saying that in South Celebes if schools are Christian they get a subsidy from the treasury, but this is not so if the schools are Mohammedan. (Maybe they meant that the government schools should be included too when they said, "why should not the religious (Mohammedan) schools get funds too, since this is a Mohammedan country?") Anyway, there is a great deal of feeling on this matter. Formerly there was much feeling against education, and there still is to some extent, especially by the lowers. But, increasingly, more and more want it. I told what I had heard about even the radjas not wanting their children to go to Makassar for more than a few years. They said that that was generally so, and Andi again said that Bone is quite backward. 871 434 464 871 578

few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts. 000
 During the Japanese period many of the old clothes were 291
 ruined and they have not yet been replaced because cloth is 178
 now both scarce and expensive. For example, Andi said that 728
 the main reason why men wear ordinary shirts is because the
 old costume takes so much cloth and it is hard to get today.
 The same thing holds for pants. He agreed that in general
 the older men still wear a sarong, but that the younger ones
 tend to wear pants. He said that formerly there would have
 been much trouble had he appeared at the office dressed in
 pants and a shirt. But today no one cares because they know
 that it is hard to get any clothes at all. As for export and
 import, there never was very much in this kampong so it is
 hardly worth speaking of. [439]

As for changes in the market place and in market activities, 177
 they knew of none except that with buses and bicycles people 489
 could go further. The market rings I mentioned before. For- 436
 merly, in pre-Dutch time, the local people used V.O.C. [pro- 178
 bably Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (i.e., Dutch East
 India Company)--Analyst] coins and also kepeng. Now they
 still have kepeng, but they use rupiah. Formerly there was
 some barter and the Kepala kampong described it to me.

As I remember it, five people own automobiles, including 177
 four Buginese and one Chinese. Before the war there were 489
 three. There are about twenty people who can drive a car. 493
 There is much travel by bus today.

As for the economic system, it is mainly individualistic 428
 and to some degree runs along family lines. But the main 562
 thing is the individual. However, in matters of inheritance 591
 it usually runs like this: inherited goods are so divided that 611
 the sons get the larger share, and the girls the smaller one.
 But the girls generally get the house. This is important be-
 cause the usual practice is matrilocal for residence, though
 there is no hard and fast rule, and if a man has more proper-
 ty than his wife in his kampong they may live there. Never-
 theless, the usual practice is for the man to go to his wife's
 house or kampong, and later if possible build a house in his
 kampong. This reflects, possibly, a previous matrilineal
 state. Andi said that if one's son happened to be mean, he
 might refuse to give the house to daughters, but this was not
 right. I explained primogeniture, and he got angry at the
 thought of it. This was one of the few times he got really ex-
 cited. He said that if his brother tried that on him he would
 fight, and even knife him. [578]

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OBI Indonesia
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 Toraja 0611
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THE LAW OF DELICTS

the individual body, health and the rules of magic in life, the possession of goods, the relationship to offspring and to married couples, belong practically everywhere to the life-circle of persons, which is protected against encroachment.

B. INDONESIAN TERMINOLOGIES

The various injuries have their own names—sometimes original names, in the case of a closely related group of actions, such as all sorts of theft, although the native names for delicts are very elastic in their meanings, such as "dago dago" (Minangkabau), meaning disobedience toward those in adat authority, and "kagau gau" (Buginese), meaning to do something bad.

The fines for delicts are established in a specific relation to the offense, which cannot be further explained; for example, three plates for an ordinary insult, three plates and a pig for a serious insult, ten plates for insulting a chief (among the Lawangan Dyaks). This is one sample of the relation between the delict and fine taken at random from thousands of others, all as inexplicable as this.

The fines for delicts frequently show their magic character in their insistence in naming the goods which are owed by the delinquent (so many buffaloes, so many slaves, for instance) and then, without objection, allowing these goods actually to be replaced by objects of small monetary value or by a sum of money.

The fines for delicts have their specific designation in various law-areas, for example: "bosi sebelas kepala tajau" (West Borneo), a pot of the value of ten heads (kepala—head, in Malay) and twelve detached heads, which is the fine not for one sort of delict but for a group of various delicts (probably equal in degree). The Toraja distinguish between offenses committed with the mouth, for which the fine is based on payment in chickens; offenses committed with the hand, for which the fine is based on the value of goats; offenses committed with the whole body, where the fine is based on payment of buffaloes. According to the seriousness of the offense, the actual fine for delict consists, for instance, of a chicken with three things in addition, or of a buffalo with five things added to it, etc. In the Balinese desa, many offenses are punished by a money fine. Thus each law-area has its specific delict and reaction pattern. It seems to be a general characteristic that in cases of theft (and other offenses against property) the fine consists of a payment of twice or several times the value of the stolen property.

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